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Read an Unpublished Manuscript

by

Chai Ch'ing (翟 青)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing has fallen. This is a great victory of the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts carried out by the revolutionary people of the whole country under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee.

Although Teng has fallen, his counter-revolutionary revisionist line has yet to be penetratingly criticized and his perverse, reactionary crimes have yet to be thoroughly exposed.

Now, let us show to the public an unpublished manuscript written on Teng's order.

The manuscript has a big and serious subject, "The General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation."

Running to more than ten thousand words, the manuscript raises "three directives as the key link" to the "theoretical" level and makes a general and systematic exposition. Let us share the enjoyment of this strange manuscript. Let us read and discuss it with our readers!

> 1. "Chairman Mao has issued the directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the directive on promoting stability and unity, the directive on pushing the national economy forward. These three important directives of Chairman Mao's are not only the general program for all work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation at present, but are also the general program in the entire course of struggle for fulfilling the grand goals in the next 25 years. To carry out these important directives of Chairman Mao's is to carry out the Party's basic line, the Party's line for unity and victory, the Party's general line for socialist construction."

So the manuscript begins with putting forward the "General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation." But what is this general program? It is not class struggle nor the Party's basic line but the "three directives." How strange!

Not long after he went back to work, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing proposed the revisionist program of "three directives as the key link" behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. In the three months of July, August and September last year, when the Right deviationist wind was blowing with full force, he thought he had the market conditions in his grip and decided to sell to the public this revisionist program for the general restoration of capitalism. So, the elaborately designed "General Program" was conceived to meet the needs, and the manuscript was basically completed on October 7. Such was the political background for the production of this manuscript.

Taking class struggle as the key link represents the minimum common knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; it is also the basic theory and basic practice of our Party in carrying out socialist revolution. Why? Did you people promote "three directives as the key link" because class struggle, the key link, did not work any more and was out-dated?

By putting the three directives on an equal footing, you people merely took Chairman Mao's directives as the shield for pushing the revisionist program. Stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward are "everything else" and not the "key link." By arbitrarily refusing to differentiate between the key link and everything else, by taking stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward, things of "everything else," as part of the "key link," you merely repeated the old tricks of eclecticism played by the opportunists, new and old.

Similarly, when Chairman Mao formulates the lines for us, he makes a distinction between the general line and the specific lines for work. But you people completely rejected the role of the Party's basic line in commanding the specific lines for work and mentioned the three lines on the same breath. By so doing, you confused the key link with everything else, and substituted everything else for the key link.

Does carrying out the three directives "amount to carrying out the Party's basic line"? This is shocking confusion! Today, when the Party's basic line has captured everyone's heart, the authors of the manuscript probably felt that without referring to "basic line," it would be difficult to hoodwink others. So, pulling off a hoax and cutting off the premise, they brusquely regarded the implementation of the three directives and that of the Party's basic line as one and the same thing, doing so without even mentioning formal logic. In this way, didn't they completely change the content of the Party's basic line that is known to all people?

The baseness of the means speaks for the baseness of the end. The reason why Teng Hsiao-p'ing could not wait to have the "three directives as the key link" imposed on the Party is none other than that he wanted

to change the Party's basic program provided in the Party's Constitution, changing the Party's ultimate goal from realization of communism to "four modernizations" and ascribing all the tasks of the Party during the entire historical period of socialism to production and construction. To let the cat out of the bag, the so-called "three directives as the key link" was the "general work program" by which Teng vainly attempted to realize capitalist restoration. As to the time it would take to achieve restoration, judging by Teng's anxiety to whip up the Right deviationist wind, he did not expect it to take "25 years."

> 2. "These anti-Marxist class enemies, inheriting Lin Piao's mantle, always take over our revolutionary slogans, distort them, cut them apart, stuff them with contraband in order to confound black and white and right and wrong. They attempt to confuse the thinking of some of our comrades and some of the masses, disrupt the Party organization in some localities and some units, split the Party, the working class and the mass ranks. They hoist the banner of anti-revisionism to practice revisionism, hoist the banner of anti-restoration to promote restoration, throw the good cadres of the Party and advanced model personalities off the stage, usurp the power of leadership in some localities and some units, and exercise bourgeois dictatorship in these localities and units."

This passage may be read as a statement by Teng Hsiao-p'ing on seizing power from the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. It is easy for those who are acquainted with the history of the great cultural revolution to see that the manuscript has some people in mind when it refers to "anti-Marxist class enemies." Can it be that it is wrong to carry out the struggle to seize power from the capitalist roaders within the Party, starting with the storm of the "January revolution"? Can it be that it is wrong to oust those capitalist roaders within the Party who used the power in their hands to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? Can it be that it is a crime to capture one by one those fortresses occupied by capitalist roaders within the Party in some localities and units? No. All this is the fruit of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The great cultural revolution was started and led by Chairman Mao personally. The fact that you falsely accused those revolutionary comrades who followed Chairman Mao's strategic plans and struggled against the capitalist roaders within the Party of being "anti-Marxist class enemies," indicates more than anything else that the spearhead of your attack was directed at Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the broad revolutionary masses.

When you pounced back and forth with such anxiety, didn't you want to rise again from the western hills and seize the power you have lost?

Innumerable facts show that you people did some very hard thinking. The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, while ordering the cooking up of this manuscript, spread this view: "Let us forget all those problems in the great cultural revolution; let us stop thinking of them and mentioning them again. My memory is bad, and I've forgotten them all." This not only expressed his deep-rooted hatred against the great cultural revolution but also provided a figleaf for his counter-attack in revenge. Was it really true that he had "a bad memory and forgotten them all"? Not at all. He did not forget to reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution, nor did he forget to seize power from the proletariat, and his performance was excellent. Did he really mean to stop "thinking about them" or "mentioning them"? No. He was full of grievances when he thought of the great cultural revolution and ground his teeth at the mention of the great cultural revolution. Didn't he say "some people talk about the return of the 'home-going contingent,' and restoration" and openly regard himself as the general boss of the restorationists? Wasn't he busy giving appointments to "recluses" and "people who have fallen into obscurity"? Didn't he openly stress the need to give important positions to and rely on capitalist roaders who are "not afraid of being struck down a second time"? Didn't he, on various excuses, reject and attack both new and old cadres who firmly adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line?

We can clearly recognize the true features of rumor-mongers only by hearing their words and looking at their deeds. Who are "anti-Marxist class enemies"? Who took over the three directives and turned them into a revisionist program of "three directives as the key link"? Who was engaged in the criminal activities of "splitting the Party, the working class and the mass ranks"? Who "confounded black and white, and right and wrong" and smeared the excellent situation brought about by the victory of the great cultural revolution as a "longstanding habit difficult to change"? Who falsely accused some localities and units of "exercising bourgeois dictatorship" in an attempt to establish the bourgeois dictatorship? None but Teng Hsiao-p'ing, a small handful of capitalist roaders who resent the great cultural revolution and want to settle account with it. You people practice revisionism, yet you accuse revolutionaries who persist in combating and preventing revisionism of practicing revisionism. You people push for restoration, yet you falsely accuse revolutionaries who persist in opposing restoration of promoting restoration. Seen in this light, if, as the manuscript says, some people "hoist the banner of anti-revisionism to practice revisionism and the banner of anti-restoration to promote restoration," isn't this a self-portrait of Teng Hsiao-p'ing who ordered the production of this manuscript?

"Throw the good cadres of the Party and advanced model personalities off the stage" -- this is typical language of those who seek to reverse verdicts. The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing

himself once stated: "Policies must be implemented, in particular, the policies toward old workers and experienced cadres must be implemented properly, because once a movement comes it often hurts these sections of people." The language of the manuscript is completely identified with the nonsense uttered by Teng Hsiao-p'ing! Did the successive struggles between the two lines within our Party -- against Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Chü Ch'iu-pai, Lo Lung-chang, Li Li-san, Wang Ming, Kao Kang, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao -- hurt these sections of people? Did our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, our study of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and our criticism of Confucius, Mencius, Tung Chung-shu and Chu Hsi hurt them? Such a strange argument can only be made by those whose own kind were hurt. What we have seen is that the great cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, instead of hurting the experienced old cadres, have enabled many of them to generate greater revolutionary youthfulness. But in the eyes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, a series of movements were a series of harms, and his grievances soared to the skies, fully revealing his features as one who wanted to reverse verdicts. Since he wanted to reverse the verdicts on the great cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the verdicts on the successive line struggles within the Party and the verdicts on the Confucian-Legalist struggle, it was no wonder that he went all out to blow the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

> 3. "Particularly in localities and units where the power of leadership has been usurped by those anti-Marxist class enemies, it is more necessary to extensively and fully mobilize the masses to thoroughly expose the new and old bourgeois elements who oppose the Party and socialism, people who commit corruption and larceny, people who engage in speculation and manipulation, who degenerate and lead a decadent life, who break the law and violate discipline, who commit criminal offenses. It is necessary to thoroughly expose their criminal activities in frantically attacking socialism and restoring capitalism by resorting to Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary dual tactics."

Any careful reader will not find it difficult to discover that this "record of enemies" makes no reference at all to persons in power within the Party taking the capitalist road.

Is this a careless omission? On the contrary, it shows how the authors prepared this manuscript carefully and meticulously. If capitalist roaders were also included in the "record of enemies," wouldn't it cost Teng Hsiao-p'ing's life?

What you people have omitted is precisely the most important. Both in the socialist education movement and in the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao stressed: "The target of the present movement is those persons in power within the Party taking the capitalist road." In the current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao again pointed out emphatically: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." Here it is clearly shown that the capitalist roaders are the bourgeoisie within the Party during the period of socialist revolution. The capitalist roaders within the Party, with power in their hands, are very ferocious and quick in practicing revisionism; they are the principal target of the socialist revolution, and the most dangerous enemies under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why do those heroes who claim they struggle against "anti-Marxist class enemies" dare not say a few words about capitalist roaders within the Party? Don't they want to cover up the truth?

Here, in passing, let us express our thanks for the authors of the manuscript. It is precisely because you deliberately shifted the principal target of struggle that we have been able more consciously to focus our attack on the principal target of struggle; and it is precisely because you were silent about the concept of capitalist roaders that we have been able more consciously to give particularly serious attention to the struggle against the capitalist roaders. Didn't the small handful of class enemies who created the counter-revolutionary political incident at the Tienanmen Square openly hoist the banner of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing? This tells us by negative example that between you people there is a spiritual link. We will not relax our struggle against reactionary bourgeois elements in society, people who commit corruption and larceny, people who engage in speculation and manipulation, people who degenerate and lead a decadent life, people who break the law and violate discipline, and people who commit criminal offenses. Still less will we relax our struggle against capitalist roaders. Today, people across the country are rising up to condemn the counter-revolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square and criticize the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Doesn't this prove our point?

4. "Some of our comrades even today still view metaphysically the relationship between politics and economics, between revolution and production. They always cut politics off from economics, and revolution from production. They talk only about politics and not economics, only revolution and not production. Once they hear of the discussion of

the need to grasp production and economic construction well, they put on others the hat of 'theory of productive forces' and accuse others of practicing revisionism. Such a viewpoint is basically untenable.

"As a matter of fact, this viewpoint is nothing new. It was already sold by some people as early as the Second Revolutionary Civil War when Wang Ming's 'Left' opportunist line occupied the dominant position."

Comrades please note: The manuscript draws a color portrait of the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing: "It is necessary to grasp production and economic construction." It seeks to redress his grievances when he was exposed and criticized during the cultural revolution, saying that it was wrong to put on him the "hat of 'theory of productive forces'" and to accuse him of "practicing revisionism." The manuscript attacks the criticism of the broad revolutionary masses against him as "basically untenable." Its aim is obviously to back him up on the stage promoting restoration.

Do the proletarian revolutionaries, when criticizing the theory of productive forces, "view metaphysically the relationship between politics and economics, between revolution and production"? Do they "talk only about politics and not economics, and only revolution and not production"? When criticizing the reactionary theory of productive forces, we definitely do not mean to reject discussion of economics and production. What we must do is to better grasp class struggle as the key link, to further solve the problems that exist in respect to the relations of production and the superstructure, to stick to Chairman Mao's policy of grasping revolution and promoting production, and accelerate the development of production.

Is Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who advocates the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, really concerned about production and interested in the four modernizations? Not at all. What he is concerned about is capitalist production and the capitalist system. It is the great leader Chairman Mao's important directive to push the national economy forward, and it is a grand design Chairman Mao personally has drawn up for us to build our country into a powerful, modern socialist country before the end of this century. People of the whole country, with class struggle as the key link, are fighting in high spirit for the realization of this magnificent goal. The difference between us and the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing is not whether to develop production but what kind of line we should follow in developing it. Lenin said rightly: "The whole question lies (and can only lie from the Marxist viewpoint) in this: If a class does not handle its problems correctly from the political aspect, it cannot maintain its

rule and hence also cannot solve its production tasks." ("More on the Trade Union, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trostky and Bukharin") It may be asked: If Teng Hsiao-p'ing forbade anyone to mention class struggle as the key link and wrote off the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, how could he convincingly disguise himself as one who "means to grasp production"?

"When Hsiang Chuang dances with his sword, his idea is to kill Duke P'ei." In this passage the manuscript suddenly reminds one of the chieftain of the opportunist line Wang Ming. What is all this about? It deserves to be studied. Anyone with a clear mind sees that this is insinuation with an ulterior motive, maliciously attacking the present period when Chairman Mao's revolutionary line occupies the dominant position as "the period when the 'Left' opportunist line occupied the dominant position." Doesn't this manuscript say with an ulterior motive that Lin Piao "was different from Liu Shao-ch'i"? Doesn't it say that "anti-Marxist class enemies inherit Lin Piao's mantle" and not Liu Shao-ch'i's mantle? Doesn't it say that it is only necessary to "eradicate Lin Piao's influence" without mentioning the eradication of Liu Shao-ch'i's influence? Doesn't it mention only "Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary dual tactics" and not Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary dual tactics? Whom can it cheat? Lin Piao's line was the continuation of Liu Shao-ch'i's line, and both lines were ultra-Right revisionist lines -- a fact which is known to all. The manuscript deals in length with Lin Piao's "ultra-Left," and while it is insincere in its criticism of Lin, it is quite sincere in slandering and attacking the great cultural revolution in the name of criticizing "ultra-Left." They thought that by so doing, they might describe the period of the great cultural revolution as the "period when the 'Left' opportunist line occupied the dominant position," and then they could arrogantly overthrow the verdicts of the great cultural revolution and settle account with it. However, tempered in the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the revolutionary people have raised their consciousness of class and line struggles. Once Teng Hsiao-p'ing stirred up the Right deviationist wind, his fox tail was quickly caught. The truth is that what the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing clings to is precisely the already bankrupt line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, a counter-revolutionary revisionist line which is opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a line which is still essentially ultra-Right.

5. "Lenin said: 'The achievements of political education can be measured only in terms of improvement in economic condition.' Chairman Mao also said: 'In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces,

and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces.' Consequently, the distinction between genuine and false Marxism, the distinction between the correct and the erroneous lines, the distinction between genuinely making revolution and pretending to make revolution, the distinction between genuinely building socialism and pretentiously building socialism, and the distinction between good and bad results achieved in the work of cadres can only be drawn according to these criteria set forth by Lenin and Chairman Mao."

This passage begins with citing Marxist phrases as the basis, but this can only be futile. Lenin said: "The opportunists may use all kinds of academic terms, including Marxist terms, to express their themselves." ("The Debate on Policy Toward Workers Among Liberals in England") "Marxist phrases have in this era of ours become the shield for behavior that completely betrays Marxism." ("England's Pacifism and Distaste for Theories") When the German Lassalleans rigged up the opportunist "Gotha Program," didn't they cite Marxist phrases? The manuscript cooked up on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's order, also applies this tactic, but it cannot help them in any way except further exposing their revisionist features.

Lenin's remark cited in the manuscript was made at the Second Congress of the All-Russia Political Education Bureau in October 1921 when he touched on the new economic policy. At that time, the Soviet Union suffered from grave economic damage, and the anarchical capitalism and anarchical commodity exchanges assumed flood proportions. In this situation, it would be impossible to preserve the Soviet political power without doing a good job of economic work and solving the economic tasks. It was precisely in this specific environment that the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party formulated a new economic policy. Dealing with the substance of this new economic policy, Lenin said: "The change in the form of socialist construction is due to the fact that in pursuing its policy of transition from capitalism and socialism the Communist Party and the Soviet government are now adopting special methods and in many respects are operating differently from the way they operated before: they are capturing a number of positions by a 'new flanking movement,' so to speak; are retreating in order to make better preparations for a new offensive against capitalism." ("The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy") Here Lenin stated that retreat was for the sake of a new offensive and improving the economic condition was for the sake of an assault on capitalism. Why does the manuscript evade this issue of substance? Why does it twist Lenin's statement that education must serve proletarian politics and the socialist economic base into one that politics must be implemented in production?

Chairman Mao's remarks cited in the manuscript come from "On the Coalition Government" published in 1945. Here Chairman Mao did not discuss development of the productive forces in isolation from revolution;

on the contrary, he said that the development of productive forces could be enhanced only by carrying out revolution well and solving the relations of production. Chairman Mao immediately followed up the cited remarks by saying: "The social productive forces of China can be liberated only by destroying the Japanese aggressors, carrying out land reform, emancipating the peasants, developing modern industry and establishing an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful new China -- and this will win the approbation of the Chinese people." Chairman Mao stated his idea in clear, unmistakable terms, but the manuscript deliberately twists it by quoting out of context. Why?

There is of course a purpose for doing so. The purpose is to use the results of production as a measure to distinguish between genuine and false Marxism, between real and fake revolution, and between good or bad performance of work. It originates entirely from the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "white cat, black cat" theory. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." What Teng Hsiao-p'ing meant by "no matter whether it is a white or black cat, it is a good cat that catches mice" is precisely intended to blur the distinction between socialism and capitalism and between proletarian and bourgeois dictatorship, and is actually intended to favor a capitalist line. Will it do to talk about production without talking about the line? To assess and analyze work not by the yardstick of proletarian dictatorship and class struggle as the key link but in terms of good or bad results of production -- the saying that good production is good politics -- is a typical example of the theory of productive forces.

Without asking whether the dictatorship of the proletariat is solid and whether the leadership is in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers and peasants, would we not consider the imperialist countries which are relatively more developed in production technology as politically good too? Lenin said: "Both in respect to developing the production forces of man's joint labor and in respect to applying machines and all latest technological miracles, America occupies the first position in free civilized countries. At the same time America has also become one of the countries where the gulf between the rich and the poor is the widest. There, on the one side there is a tiny group of mean and selfish millionaires indulging in a dissipated life, and on the other, millions upon millions of the laboring masses struggling on the brink of hunger." ("Letter to the American Workers") Did the gentlemen who cooked up the manuscript on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's order read this statement? If you didn't, please read it now, won't you?

6. "Each of the three major movements has its own characteristics and laws as well as its own peculiar contradictions requiring our solution. Even if we have really grasped the characteristics and laws of

> class struggle and solved the peculiar contradictions in class struggle, it does not mean that we have grasped the characteristics and laws of the struggle for production and scientific experiment."

Indeed, each of the three major revolutionary movements -- class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment -- has its own particularities, and this is a matter that does not call for dispute. It is, therefore, not without reason that the manuscript brings this out in an admonitory manner.

When the key link is grasped, everything else falls into place. By grasping this "key link," class struggle, it will be possible to push the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Do you recognize this or not?

Revolution releases the productive forces. The great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship have all greatly promoted the development of industrial and agricultural production and science and technology. Do you agree with this?

Even the current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is becoming a strong driving force for industrial and agricultural production, communications and transport, capital construction, and financial and trade work. Probably you have not even thought of that, haven't you?

To discuss the peculiar laws of production struggle and scientific experiment apart from the Party's basic line and class struggle as the key link is tantamount to severing the dialectical relationship between the universality and particularity of contradictions, to denying the universality of contradictions. Marxism is a universal truth applicable everywhere, and is used by us to guide all work, including socialist revolution and socialist construction. "To negate the fundamental principles of Marxism, to negate the universal truth of Marxism -- this is revisionism." It is nothing but revisionism for the repentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his manuscript to openly negate the fundamental principles and universal truth of Marxism.

> 7. "The system of responsibility is the core of the rules and regulations of enterprises. It is necessary to establish the system of responsibility as an important link in adjusting enterprise management.
>
> "The more production and science and technology are developed, the stricter and more meticulous will

be the rules and regulations that reflect the needs of such development and the greater the need for people to abide by these rules and regulations rigidly. Rules and regulations that do not suit the needs of such development call for prompt reform; otherwise, they will hamper the development of production and science and technology. This is so not only in capitalist society but in socialist society as well, and this will be so in the future communist society."

The fact that in a paper entitled "The General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation" so much space is devoted to rules and regulations, particularly the system of responsibility, cannot but arouse people's special attention.

Let us look at the first sentence: "The system of responsibility is the core of rules and regulations of enterprises." Its aim is to negate the role of workers as masters in socialist enterprises. Dealing with the problems of industrial development on August 18, last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing had this to say: "The key to rules and regulation is the system of responsibility. The present problem is that nobody takes the responsibility. This problem must be brought to the fore." Why have they failed to see that the vast worker masses are engaged in labor and work with a high sense of responsibility toward the socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the spirit of masters? This can only show that you are blind!

As for the saying that rules and regulations must be made "stricter and more meticulous," we do want to ask: How "strict and meticulous" do you want?

Capitalist enterprise management proceeds from the mutual relationship between the domination of the capitalist and his exploitation of workers. Rules and regulations are as numerous as an ox's hair, "forcing people to do different jobs like slaves." They are designed to infinitely exact surplus value from the workers' labor. The Western bourgeoisie had enforced the so-called Taylor system and the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism practiced the so-called "Shekino 谢基诺 experiment." So strict was the management system that even the time the workers spent going to the toilet had to be taken into account. The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing cried aloud: "When we make rules and regulations now, we should rather make them a little stricter." Does he want to practice the Taylor system or the "Shekino experiment" in socialist China? Does he want to bring out anew the revisionist package of "supervisory, repressive and coercive measures"? Does he attempt to reduce the workers of socialist China to slave again?

Socialist enterprise management basically differs from capitalist enterprise management. The core of the former is to have the proletariat

run the house as master. "Although they differ in the work they do, they are all masters." Socialist reciprocal relationship determines that the worker masses are the masters of enterprises, that enterprise management must depend on the worker masses, and that it is essential to unceasingly restrict bourgeois rights. Socialist enterprises also have professional managerial personnel, but these people should not be placed in a position antagonistic to the worker masses. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, in our factories and enterprises, the revisionist line on running enterprises has been criticized, the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" has been seriously implemented, and proletarian politics has been put in command. Large-scale mass movements have been launched, with cadres taking part in labor and workers in management. Irrational rules and regulations have been reformed, the reciprocal relationship between man and man has been markedly improved, and the spirit of the workers as masters has been further generated. A lively and dynamic political situation has appeared. All of this has of course angered the restorationist maniac Teng Hsiao-p'ing. When describing rules and regulations as omnipotent and saying that the stricter and more meticulous they are, the better, this manuscript goes so far as to advocate openly, "this is so not only in capitalist society but in socialist society as well, and this will be so in the future communist society." The secret of heaven is now revealed. The truth is that Teng Hsiao-p'ing describes the socialist, communist society as exactly the same as capitalist society. Nothing else can more nakedly advocate restoration of capitalism and stand for the bourgeoisie!

> 8. "We must take the three important directives as the key link, sum up the rich experience since the great proletarian cultural revolution, formulate specific policies for various kinds of work, and use this general work program and various policies to guide and adjust work in various fields. Industry must be adjusted, agriculture must be adjusted, communications and transport must be adjusted, finance and trade must be adjusted, science and technology must be adjusted, culture, education and health must be adjusted, literature and art must be adjusted, the army must be adjusted, and the Party, too, must be adjusted."

There are altogether nine major "adjustments," from industry to agriculture, from science and technology to culture, education and health, from the economic base to the superstructure, from the army to the locality, from inside the Party to outside the Party. Nothing is left out, and everything must be "adjusted." It is literally a net cast from heaven. How to "adjust"? To "adjust" according to the "three directives as the key link." People are clear about what Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants to "adjust," and where. The moment Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "adjustment" order

was issued, an all-out assault in revenge was launched. In the field of industry, there was the "Certain Problems Concerning Acceleration of Industrial Development," aimed at "adjusting" the policy of independence and self-reliance and promoting the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind others at a snail's pace, "adjusting" the policy of walking on two legs and promoting the dictatorship by stereotype, "adjusting" the Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company and advocating the "Constitution of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine." In the field of science and technology, the so-called "Outline of Summary Report" was put forward to oppose "mentioning proletarian dictatorship" on the scientific-technological front, to deprecate the guidance of Marxism over scientific research work and prevent the masses from carrying out scientific research. In the field of education, the "orientation of educational revolution" had to be "reversed," the "educational crisis" and "students not reading books" were condemned, "selecting good middle school graduates and sending them direct to universities" was advocated, and, in short, the fruits of the educational revolution were smeared and so forth. When all of these vituperations were put together, they formed the Right deviationist wind that blew fiercely with sand and stones around last summer!

What are the criteria for "adjustment"? Teng Hsiao-p'ing said very clearly: "Provided that people say you have restored, your job is done." These words reveal in full that counter-revolutionary revisionist line of his. It is wrong for the manuscript to say that "adjustment" is "for the sake of consolidating and developing the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution." But if a few words were changed to read "for the sake of strangling and abolishing," it would be perfectly right. In "adjusting" the excellent situation after the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has to take the first step of "reversing" back to the track of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and the second step of further subverting the proletarian dictatorship and "bringing out" an old China in accordance with this counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The so-called overall "adjustment" for which Teng Hsiao-p'ing clamors, essentially means prohibiting the retention of a single socialist factor and the existence of a single new socialist thing, and this means restoring capitalism on a general scale! Amid the din of overall "adjustment," people cannot help reminding themselves of those elements of the old home-going contingent who encircled and attacked the Soviet areas and who shouted frantically, "the straw must be burned, the stones must be smashed, and people must be changed." Do the tune and behavior of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in promoting restoration vividly reveal the features of the landlord-bourgeois "home-going contingent"?

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The manuscript is long and odorous, and please forgive us for not quoting it in full.

People already can see clearly that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "three directives as the key link" is definitely not simply a problem of formulation, but a program for general restoration of capitalism. Hasn't this manuscript,

prepared on Teng's order, said those things that he wanted but did not say?

What is especially noteworthy is that in conclusion the manuscript shamelessly boats of their cause as "just" and as "invincible." Such an act of hitting one's face to make it swell in order to make one look like a fat man can only more glaringly expose their fragility.

Is your cause of restoring capitalism a just one? No. In socialist China, your package does not have the support of the people, the Party and the Party members. The current mass revolutionary debate first initiated in Tsinghua University has dealt head-on blows to the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts; it has pleased everyone and won the warm support and approbation of the broad masses of people of all nationalities in the country. In a short span of several months, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has completely sunk into utter isolation. This has convincingly proved that reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people.

Is your cause invincible? No. Once the masses rose up, Teng fell. Teng at first thought he would certainly succeed in having capitalism restored, but the result is that, like all fools, he lifted a rock only to have it drop on his own feet. Even such a manuscript as this he could not have the time to publish, and is this not the best mockery for your "just" and "invincible" cause?

According to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's preconceived plan, this strange manuscript was to be carried in a major periodical they planned to publish, so that a rival drama might be staged. At that time they declared: "After the article is published, it will be like a punch." As their frenzy suggests, they really wanted to "punch" the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, the moment Teng stretched out his sinister hand, it was caught by the broad masses of revolutionary people. And following the bankruptcy of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, that major periodical failed to appear and this paper became a manuscript that could not be published. This was inevitable. It shows that anyone who does perverse acts cannotlast long and will not have a good end. Recently, the small handful of class enemies who created the counter-revolutionary political incident at the Tienanmen Square in the capital sang the praises of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and vainly attempted to present him as Nagy, the ringleader of the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary. Didn't this from another aspect hasten Teng's downfall?

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind, initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, is rolling forward, wave upon wave. Marxism will surely triumph over revisionism and socialism over capitalism -- this will be the outcome that cannot be changed by anyone's will. Let us unite closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and win still greater victories!

* * *

The Circumstances Surrounding the Appearance of the "Outline of Summary Report"

by

K'ang Li (康立) and Yen Feng (延风)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

The resolution of the Party Central Committee concerning the dismissal of Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all his posts both inside and outside the Party proclaims the total political bankruptcy of the unrepentant capitalist roader. The whole Party and the people of the whole country are now engaged in angrily denouncing and repudiating this teacher by negative example and the teaching materials he has left behind.

"Outline of the Summary Report on the Work of the Chinese Academy of Sciences" /hereafter "Outline"/ is a copy of valuable teaching material by negative example.

This "Outline" was secretly conceived and prepared under Teng Hsiao-p'ing's personal direction. It serves as a piece of important criminal evidence of his espousal of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line for the purpose of restoring capitalism. Dissecting this Outline and the process of its preparation makes it possible to trace, from one facet, the origin of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts which he whipped up around last summer.

Let us now take a look at the "trilogy" in the formulation of this outline.

The first phase: from mid-July to mid-August.

On July 18 that capitalist roader assumed office in the Academy of Sciences, and the first thing he did was to draft the "outline report." Later, in a letter to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, he said gleefully: "I've devoted all my energy to this document the past month," and "it almost killed an old man like me."

"Working with utter desperation" echoes the frame of mind of those capitalist roaders who are dissatisfied with the great cultural revolution and who for nearly ten years have wanted to settle old account with it.

Why did they pick the Academy of Sciences as the venue for venting their "desperation"? The truth is that not long after Teng resumed work he became his old self again, flaunting the black banner of "taking the three directives as the key link" behind the back of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. On the one hand, he reached for the economic sphere to dish up that notorious "Several Questions Concerning Accelerating the

Development of Industry";* on the other hand, he reached for the superstructure to cook up the "outline report." Teng said, "This document is very important in that it applies not only to the Academy of Sciences but also to the entire scientific-technological and educational circles and other departments." This blunt admission betrayed his sinister objective of restoring capitalism. In Teng's view, these two documents, resembling two important eyes on the chessboard, could enliven the whole course of capitalist restoration once they were taken hold of. How could they not struggle "desperately" in making such an important move?

On August 1, that capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences took the draft of the outline, on which the ink had not been dry, to Teng Hsiao-p'ing and read it out once over. Teng nodded approval. However, when this draft was referred to relevant personnel for their views, it received a big rebuff. Many comrades pointed out that this material was prepared by those who seemingly had not joined the great cultural revolution and that it dealt with things that had already been discredited. But they were resolved to "fight it out," they would not change their mind.

The revised draft was not circulated and it was kept "under wraps"even from the Party nucleus group of the Academy of Sciences. They forwarded the draft to that "theoretician," a member of Teng's advisers group. The "theoretician" knew what it was and commented on the draft: "If technology is not undertaken, there will be no way to put politics in command"; "theoretical study should in no way be deprecated, condemned or even reviled"; "it won't do simply to rely on quoting a few sentences from classical works for logical extension." He also laid particular stress on the word "reverse."

On August 17, that capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences personally addressed a letter to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, enclosing the revised draft outline. The letter said: "Several key sections of this draft have been revised in line with your instructions." "I eagerly look forward to receiving your further guidance." These flattering words did bring out Teng's "guidance" on the outline.

What is particularly worth looking into is the "key sections" mentioned in the letter. While the letter gives no details about the "key sections," that "theoretician's" explicit reference to the word "reverse" does provide us with some clues.

Their emphasis on the word "reverse" indicates that they want to picture the situation as having come to such a pass that it must be "reversed." Although the outline begins with the remark that "the achievements are the main thing," this is merely designed to give a false impression so the public will drop their guard. After mentioning "achievements," they describe the excellent situation characterized by "the orioles sing and swallows dance"

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* Translation will appear in SPRCM No. 873.

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scientific research with an open door," recommending "research by one or several people." The outline vilifies scientific and technical personnel trained from among the workers, peasants and soldiers as "inadequate in knowledge of scientific theory and hampering further progress." The concocters of the outline regarded worker-peasant-soldier scientists and technicians as floods and ferocious beasts, even yelling "danger," "keep the door closed," "stand on the sentry post." This illustrates that they wanted to turn the realm of scientific research into a fortress of the bourgeoisie free from "danger."

This outline incisively and explicitly signifies that the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing clings to a stand that is irreconcilably opposed to the revolutionary people and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is also the important value provided by the outline to the revolutionary people by way of negative example.

The second phase in the production of the outline occurred from August 26 to September 26.

On August 26 the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing personally ordered that the task of revising the outline be given to that "theoretician." The next day, he called on that "theoretician" and that capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences. He said: "The outline must be shortened, the principles must be retained, the edges must be smoothed out, and the writing must be sure and steady." He was at first so ferocious and so determined in giving prominence to the word "reverse," but why did he now want to "smooth out" some "edges"? There must be a reason. It is that not long before this Chairman Mao issued an important instruction on the need to make comment on Water Margin and criticize Sung Chiang's capitulationism, this being a major struggle on China's political and ideological front. Criticizing the capitulationist Sung Chiang in a novel of 300 years ago was jarring to Teng's nerves. Feeling guilty of what he was doing, he said: "Don't mistake the wind for the rain and imagine that things might go wrong," "you are not Sung Chiang." Nevertheless, he changed his tactics and made preparations for continuing the attack.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing said he would "smooth out the edges" because they were "too sharp." He was worried that being too sharp-tongued would easily expose oneself. He also said: "Talk less, otherwise it would be difficult to hold your feet." This is also true. For a revisionist like Teng to talk like a Marxist, talking too much would naturally betray himself. But this was only a change in tactics "without sacrificing principles." To change the tactics was in order to uphold their "principles." And on the "principle" of attacking the proletariat, they would not concede an inch.

That "theoretician," having looked over the first draft, was critical of the "obsolete language that is devoid of the language used in documents prepared after the great cultural revolution." He suggested using more revolutionary phrases and terms as embellishments. In practicing revisionism, this "theoretician" was indeed smarter than that capitalist roader of the

Academy of Sciences. In early September the revised draft was ready. If it is said that the outline drafted by that capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences was provocative and hard-hitting, then the draft revised and polished by that "theoretician" is more disguised and richer in revisionist colors.

The second section of the outline was most drastically altered. With elaborate care, he tampered with Chairman Mao's ten-point thesis on scientific-technological work, adding the heading: "Resolutely and in an all-round manner implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in science and technology." At a glance, the outline gave the impression that "it abounds in vocabulary found in documents written after the great cultural revolution." In reality, considerable intrigues were involved.

Among the ten points, he didn't quote Chairman Mao's directives on taking class struggle as the key link and on unfolding in a deep-going way the revolution in the superstructure and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and a series of directives issued by Chairman Mao concerning scientific-technological work during the great cultural revolution. Was this a careless omission? No, it was not. Otherwise, why did you forget the most important instructions while clamoring for "all-round and not one-sided" implementation of Chairman Mao's line? Why were you so keen about "science and technology as the productive forces," something Chairman Mao has never said, and so anxious to put it in?

You did cite some of Chairman Mao's directives, but how were these applied? Nothing but quoting them out of context, emasculating their souls, compromising them, secretly replacing the key point, distorting the original meaning for selfish reasons. In a word, they would spare no effort to achieve their political ends. For instance, on the first point, they cited Chairman Mao's words on the three major revolutionary movements and interpreted them as "elucidating scientific-technological work" in "contributing significantly toward consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat." Marxism indeed attaches considerable importance to the role of science and technology. However, can it be that what you have proposed to do in respect of "scientific-technological work" could be put on an equal footing with the scientific experiment in the three major revolutionary movements? Can it be true that what you have ardently advocated, such as "bookworms" and the "white and expert" road, could "contribute significantly" toward consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat? By doing so, you think you can, under the banner of the "three major revolutionary movements," take up "research" that is divorced from reality and go on pushing that counter-revolutionary revisionist line. But this is wishful thinking.

That "theoretician" who took an active part in the production of the outline said blatantly: "By relying on this ten-point directive, we can overwhelm them." "Overwhelm" whom? Do they intend to pirate revolutionary phrases and use them to "overwhelm" the revolutionary proletariat? This outburst only betrays your ferocious features of waving a red flag to oppose the red flag.

Lenin said: "Opportunists may use the terminology of various doctrines, including Marxist terminology, to express themselves." This trick is employed in the revision of the draft. That "theoretician" was of course quite happy about it, and so was Teng Hsiao-p'ing who was much pleased with the revised version!

Revising the rest of the outline was also in line with the aggressive strategy of "preserving the principles and smoothing out the edges." Certain edges of the first draft were removed to make way for the insertion of these words: "Revisionism is still the main danger in our Academy." This insertion could cut both sides.

Accompanying these words was the following passage:

> "However, in combating this revisionist tendency,... if one employs a simple and crude attitude and practice, exaggerates, substitutes sentiment for policy, wilfully and one-sidedly defines Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in science and technology, the result will inevitably lead to ideological confusion, losses in work, and even to serious weakening or cancellation of scientific-tecnological work.... This will still cause one to sink into revisionism."

The truth is that "revisionism" in their vocabulary has its special implied meaning. The "revisionism" that becomes the "main danger," in their own words, is different from and even the "opposite" of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionism. Look, repudiating Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionism may lead to "ideological confusion," "cancellation" of scientific-technological work, and "sinking into revisionism." The conclusion: criticizing revisionism is revisionism. Is there any more amazing logic than this in the world? Clearly, what they mean by "revisionism" is a charge levelled against the great proletarian cultural revolution. Didn't they attack the great cultural revolution for "neglecting theory and making no mention of science and technology"? Didn't they claim that "a crisis now exists in our science and technology"? Didn't they say "we should lay particular stress on the fact that interferences are considerable"? All this, it was alleged, resulted from "struggle" against Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionism. As a matter of fact, Teng Hsiao-p'ing was Liu Shao-ch'i's partner in pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and repudiation of Liu's revisionism of course would deeply hurt him /Teng/. In the outline they thus viciously attached a "revisionist" label on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Inserting such high-sounding words as "revisionism is the main danger" and hitting at Chairman Mao's revolutionary line -- this is what is meant by "preserving principles and smoothing out the edges"!

At the same time, they extracted quotations from revolutionary teachers stating that "philosophy cannot replace natural science" as an appendix to the outline. By the latter part of September, the revised draft was basically finalized after repeated improvements. How this delighted Teng Hsiao-p'ing and company!

So, the work of preparing the outline entered the third phase.

Following intense planning, the outline was ready for presentation in the form of a summary report. While listening to the report, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing gave further "crucial" "guidance" on the revision of the outline.

The so-called "outline report" deals with the "planning of the work of the Academy of Sciences." But when that capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences came to the section of the report dealing with the complement of scientists and technicians of the Academy, Teng Hsiao-p'ing at once interrupted him by asking him to include those not under the jurisdiction of the Academy of Sciences. He said, "If they are not included, how can we underline its importance?" This once again revealed an undisguised attempt to control "the scientific and technological contingent of the whole country," an attempt to use this as a breach and to underline the "importance" of stirring up in an all-round way the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

In the course of listening to the outline report, Teng Hsiao-p'ing now and then interrupted to give his views. He objected to the working class' entry into the superstructure and asserted that "stressing reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." Peddling the theory of productive forces on behalf of bourgeois intellectuals, he said: "These people are laborers while scientific research is the productive force." Thereupon, that "theoretician" who had taken an active part in the drafting of the outline report, lost no time to supply Teng with a "theoretical basis" -- "Marx says that productive forces are first and foremost science." When that capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences, making the report, said that "nobody now dares to talk about being red and expert," Teng interrupted and elaborated: "Even white and expert, is there anything to be afraid of? We should cherish and commend it." "As long as being white and expert is good for the People's Republic of China, it is better than using the latrine without discharging excreta." When that capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences apprehensively came to the part of the report that sounded like giving away something that could be seized upon by others, Teng gave him a shot in the arm and said: "There are indeed some pigtails, stronger than mine. I am like a Uighur girl with many pigtails." Teng then asked him to go ahead and do things boldly.

After the "outline report," under Teng's direct command, an intensified attack was launched against the proletariat in various spheres of the superstructure, such as science and technology, education, and literature and art.

Using the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" as the rallying call, they established contacts wherever they could, making speeches, writing letters, planning publications or compiling specially written black articles with care. As a result, absurdities of every description began to prevail, with the farce of plotting restoration and going backward all set for presentation and the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts blowing more and more fiercely.

Teng repeatedly asserted: "In a country scientific research should be in the fore." What he meant implicitly was: to restore capitalism, the scientific-technological circles should spearhead the battle. That capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences took the cue and immediately stepped up the restorationist activities.

On September 28, another capitalist roader of the Academy of Sciences in explicit language revealed the underlying thesis of the outline report: "On the scientific-technological front, the dictatorship of the proletariat should not be mentioned." Of course that could only mean exercising bourgeois dictatorship.

In going the round of the institutes under the Academy of Sciences, that capitalist roader made a point of conveying Teng's "directives." Inspecting the semi-conductors institute, he said: "If the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight. Rectification of names should come first." "Returning to the old order means returning to the old order. That is for the sake of work! Don't try to use terms to frighten people." He followed the Confucian teaching of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and even cited those black remarks attributed to Confucius and taken to task during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and put a premium on them. Isn't this most thought-provoking?

On October 6 and 7, he visited the psychology and electronics institutes to further preach putting vocational affairs in command and having the institutes run by experts. He said, "The Party committee secretary is not familiar with vocational affairs, so he can tell the director honestly: 'It's up to you.'" "Dare to blow the vocational typhoon? The typhoon dealing with vocational affairs should be blown up to the 12th grade if the 8th grade is not enough." What "vocational typhoon"? It is nothing but an evil wind to negate putting proletarian politics in command and disavow Party leadership!

Four days later, that is, October 11, he put on another full-dress performance, aimed at his critics who branded him as a "big Rightist." In his self-defense, he said: "This appears to me transcendentalism." Is that "transcendentalism"? Not at all. At the meeting he conveyed Teng Hsiao-p'ing's sinister remark: Our development in the fields of industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense construction in the past 25 years has not been rapid. Then he changed to talking rubbish and said that words like "the situation is excellent" "have been mentioned for nearly 20 years and this sounds probably unreliable! Tiresome talks have made people disbelieve in such things and the losses sustained therefrom could be enormous!" He

went on in a more provocative tone: "Many comrades have been skeptical about the Central Committee's determination. I've often said that some comrades in the past few years have spoken unfavorably of certain things and they are in doubt over politics. What elements after all are they? What opinions? Are they bourgeois elements? Rightist views? Concrete problems call for concrete analysis." This is indeed a remarkable monologue. After a "concrete analysis" of this capitalist roader's "concrete problems," the conclusion is naturally quite clear: The outline report dished up by you people is not different in essence from the anti-Party program prepared in 1957 by the bourgeois Rightists. All your open and secret utterances and actions, aimed directly at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, are essentially not different from those of desperadoes who created the counter-revolutionary political incident at the T'ienanmen Square several days ago. What "elements" after all are you? Didn't you long ago make the most appropriate political assessment for yourselves?

That capitalist roader who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in the educational circles also did not want to fall behind. On two separate occasions, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing identified him by name and urged him to come forward and speak up: "Going to school has now become a problem, so why don't you speak up?" Thereupon, he moved quickly and "delivered" everywhere "speeches" about the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. He asserted that the revolution in education remained unresolved since the great cultural revolution, "with a host of problems, particularly ideological confusion, still existing." For several days he said he would "trace" the root of the problem. And putting it bluntly, he said: "It is rooted in the line." He was in fact aiming the spearhead directly at Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In line with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's wishes, he was prepared to dish up an outline report for the educational circles patterned after the outline report on the Academy of Sciences. He said, "If we have the Central Committee's approval, the matter can be pursued smoothly"; "otherwise, we may find ourselves in trouble." Why was he so anxious to dish up a similar outline report? On October 8, he told a meeting engaged in drafting the outline report: "The Academy of Sciences must have successors, and the central question is the question of education departments." This remark in effect served to merge two Right deviationist winds to reverse verdicts, one blowing in scientific-technological circles and the other in educational circles. With the former "leading the way" and the latter insuring "a group of successors," the orchestration was indeed conceived cleverly and with elaborate care!

That "theoretician" mentioned above also became quite active. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing frenziedly call for "ideological adjustment" and identify it as a "crucial" task of "vast dimensions." This job was naturally entrusted to that "theoretician." On October 6, the "theoretician" delivered a speech, alleging absurdly that "Chairman Mao's instructions have not been properly reflected in publications," and so he wanted to found a "publication that represents the Party's line" in a rabid attempt to seize Party leadership over theoretical and propaganda work. Meanwhile, a big poisonous weed entitled "A General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation" was

successfully prepared and scheduled to be published in a journal which never saw the light of day. This remarkable article refined all absurdities into "theory" and presented a "general program" for capitalist restoration.

During those days Teng Hsiao-p'ing in a burst of uncontrollable zeal tried his utmost to invoke forces that would contribute to the cause of capitalist restoration. With unbridled passion, he said: "The focal point of our discussions in the past half year has been the word 'daring'." This rallying call at once produced some result among his followers. Some said, "Hold high our bones." Others said, "Renounce the vanity of life" and "I am not afraid of being struck down." Still others said, "I am the restorationist" and "I am the captain of the home-going group returning today." Some even openly imitated home-going group leader Hu Han-san's tone and said that "historical accounts call for a sober analysis." With Teng's blessings, a handful of several adherents to the revisionist line at Tsinghua University sprang out once again, and aiming the spearhead directly at Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, wrote sinister letters and spread rumors with unbridled blatancy. The concocters of the outline openly exclaimed: "If it is said that they (referring to the handful of adherents to the revisionist line in Tsinghua University) opened a small breach, then the outline report has opened a big breach all the way through!" These people were so lured by gains that they could not wait to launch a "general" attack.

However, they rejoiced too soon. At the time when Teng Hsiao-p'ing was stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the whole Party and the people of the whole country, led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, were engaged in studying theory, making comments on Water Margin and grasping the line in the wake of happy tidings prevalent on all fronts, including the scientific-technological front. All their absurdities were logically boycotted and repudiated by the vast numbers of cadres and the masses. Although they began to realize that the tide had turned, they kept putting up stiff resistance. When they hurriedly proceeded to revise the third draft of the outline, they did two things that were worth looking into. One concerned checking whether or not Chairman Mao in 1963 had said that "science and technology are productive forces." The other was compiling a list of quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin on "science and technology as productive forces." Comrades, please don't overlook these two things for they embrace the sinister motives of the swindlers!

They said: "Chairman Mao referred to science and technology as productive forces when he was listening to a certain report on scientific-technological planning." The fact is that Chairman Mao did not make any remark to that effect. And comrades who attended that meeting could not possibly find any such remark in their notes. However, they had the audacity to include these words in the outline report as an instruction given by Chairman Mao. This is a re-enactment of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's rabid performance of arbitrarily attributing the rumor "Old Chiu cannot leave" to Chairman Mao.

Citing classical works, they said: "Marx says that productive forces are first and foremost science." This is another fabrication. That remark attributed to Marx and included in the quotations by them comes from Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy (Draft). But this passage is

mistranslated (see footnote). The translator of this book in his remarks notes that "the translation is a draft, not a completed manuscript," adding that "there must be plenty of errors and passages that have not been properly translated." However, they put a premium on the erroneous translation, and, in particular, that "theoretician," instead of "paying serious attention to the speculation of language," did not even bother about the proofs and played up the mistranslated quotation. This practice is no way different from that of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in producing the quotations from that "genius"!

Why did they cling to the wrongly translated sentence -- "productive forces are first and foremost science"? This is because the theoretical basis of the theory of productive forces they have preached serves as their life-saving straw in their deceitful practices. The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing repeatedly cited these phrases, saying: "Marx says that productive forces are science. It is most essential to have an all-round understanding of these aspects and it is very important that China should be in the front ranks within this century." By stressing science as the primary factor in the productive forces, they aimed at rejecting class struggle as the key link, rejecting the Party's basic line, and abolishing the continued revolution in the superstructure and in the economic base. From the thesis on the theory of the productive forces can be deduced a counter-revoutionary revisionist line running counter to the Party's basic line. Our difference with them lies in what line to follow, not in whether or not the four modernizations are needed nor in whether science and technology must be developed. The revisionist trash they advocated is not a new invention of theirs but is borrowed from revisionists, new and old. Brezhnev once said that we are "in an age where science as a direct productive force is asserting its role more and more clearly." Haven't they also advocated "putting the weapons in the armory and grazing the horses in the southern mountains because this is a new era of mainly promoting economic construction"? "Stop your windy nonsense!" These words are only intended for others. As for Teng himself, hasn't he picked the obsolete weapons from the revisionist armory and charged at the revolutionary people with fury? Haven't the handful of counter-revolutionary elements, openly unfurling the banner of supporting Teng, tried to stir up in China the Hungarian counter-revolutionary riot? The reason why Teng wants people to discard the knife of proletarian dictatorship is that he wants to place the knife of restoring capitalism on the heads of others. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." If Teng's conspiracy were successful, then the tragedy of all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, in the wake of the assertion that "science and technology decide everything," would recur in our country. What is called "a new era of economic construction" is but the old path of putting Soviet revisionism in the ascendant.

Just as the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing was indulging in his fond dream of restoring capitalism, our great leader Chairman Mao, with keen observation and acting fast, personally initiated and led the

struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. It began as a mass debate on the educational revolution in Tsinghua University. In the words of the concocters of the outline, "the situation of line struggle is now clear." They were forced to withhold the final revised draft of the outline. The whole course in the drafting of the outline thus serves as a record of failure and provides people with a long-sought-after teaching material by negative example.

"The huge wheel of history is irreversible." The capitalist roaders blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts are fond of discussing "history." Well then, let us look back at history. Ten years ago, that is, in February 1966, as the great proletarian cultural revolution was about to begin, Liu Shao-ch'i and company also prepared "an outline of summary report," namely, the "February Outline." Ideologically speaking, the present "outline report" is exactly identical to the previous "outline report." The amusing thing is that some of the sponsors and concocters of the present "outline report" had their shares of the "contribution" to the previous "February Outline." Between these two "outlines" runs the same black thread, illustrating the law of class struggle during the socialist period -- the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalst road. A decade ago the capitalist roaders dished up that "outline" for the purpose of blocking the great cultural revolution from spreading, and the present "outline" is aimed at obliterating the fruits of victory of the great cultural revolution. However, history is ruthless. Those diehards who cling to restoration and regression cannot escape punishment by history. Teng Hsiao-p'ing resisted stubbornly only to sink quickly in the vast ocean of revolutionary mass criticism. The handful of counter-revolutionary elements created the counter-revolutionary political incident in a futile attempt to reverse the general orientation of the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviation wind to reverse verdicts. They cast Teng in the role of Nagy, ringleader of the Hungarian counter-revolutionary incident. But faced with the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, they could not withstand a single blow and fell instantly. Our great socialist motherland will firmly and unswervingly advance in triumph along the course indicated by Chairman Mao.

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Note:

That remark attributed to Marx and used by them as a basis comes from Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy (Draft), the People's Publishing House, 1963 edition, p. 369. The translation is as follows:

"Finally, social labor productivity, as an inherent attribute of capital, is expressed in fixed capital; what is meant by social labor productivity is first and foremost the scientific strength, secondarily the social strength organized within the process of production, and lastly the skills of shifting from direct labor to machinery, to lifeless productivity."

However, this translation is wrong, and after our correction it should read as follows:

"In short, fixed capital embraces social labor productivity as an inherent attribute of capital; there is not only the scientific strength but also the combination of all kinds of social strength within the process of production, and lastly the skills of shifting directly from labor to machinery, to lifeless productivity."

* * *

Advance in Wake of Victory, Penetratingly Criticize Teng

- short comment -

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

The great struggle personally initiated and led by the great leader Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is developing in depth throughout the country and is advancing in the wake of victory. It is in this excellent situation that the resolutions of the CCP Central Committee on appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the State Council of the PRC and on dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all posts inside and outside the Party were promulgated. With deep proletarian affection for Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the working class in Shanghai and the people throughout the city warmly hail the resolutions of the CCP Central Committee and wrathfully criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's crimes. Spring breeze comes suddenly one night and flowers blossom on thousands of pear trees. The broad revolutionary masses call meetings of denunciation at night and articles denouncing Teng's crimes are immediately posted on special columns of mass criticism and on walls in all units throughout the city. They voice firm support for the revolutionary action of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat over the handful of class enemies who created the counter-revolutionary political incident at the T'ienanmen Square. Like people across the country, the people of Shanghai are determined to thoroughly smash all sabotage plots of class enemies and to carry through to the end the great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

The current struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is a continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is a life-and-death struggle between two classes. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a concentrated expression of the bourgeoisie's wish for restoration. Therefore, to criticize this reactionary line will invariably meet with wild resistance and counter-offensive. The counter-revolutionary incident at the T'ienanmen Square plays an excellent role as teacher by negative example. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing propose "taking the three directives as the key link" and go all out to trumpet the theory of the dying out of class struggle? Now look, since the handful of class enemies carried out their counter-revolutionary activities in such a premeditated, planned and organized way, didn't they openly seek to topple the proletariat? Class struggle is so breath-taking. Has it died out?

Whipped up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the Right deviationist wind has its domestic and international causes. Chairman Mao once pointed out: "As long as imperialism and the bourgeoisie still exist in the world, the activities of counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois Rightists

in China not only will always bear the nature of class struggle, but will also echo the reactionaries internationally." The handful of class enemies who created the counter-revolutionary political incident at the T'ienanmen Square openly hoisted the banner of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing and lauded Teng's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in a frenzied attempt to cast him in the role of Nagy, ringleader of the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary. Internally, this counter-revolutionary incident, the moment it broke out, was applauded by the Kuomintang reactionaries who were defeated by the Chinese people and who are now entrenched in Taiwan province. Internationally, the Brezhnev renegade clique, which is extremely hostile to our dictatorship of the proletariat, also broke into sinister laughter. But, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has fallen. Didn't your applause and laughter quickly become shrills and moans?

Trouble-making invariably fails. In 1957, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Certain people in our country were delighted by the events in Hungary. They hoped that something similar would happen in China, that thousands upon thousands of people would demonstrate in the streets against the People's Government. Their hopes ran counter to the interests of the masses and therefore could not possibly win their support." The counter-revolutionary incident at the T'ienanmen Square has aroused the enormous proletarian indignation of the broad masses of people, and this strongly testifies to the fact that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, that is, the masses of people who account for over 95 percent of the population, support socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people. Whoever wants to go against the tide of history and restore capitalism in China will ultimately become a laughing stock in history. Doesn't Teng's fall once more show this profound truth? Let us rally closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, conscientiously study a series of Chairman Mao's important directives, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, carry through to the end the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and, with the practical action of grasping revolution and promoting production, defend the great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the fruits of victory won in the great cultural revolution. Let us strive for still greater victories!

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Notice of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

Party organizations at all levels in Shanghai Municipality:

(1) We warmly hail and firmly support the Resolution of the CCP Central Committee on appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng First Vice Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, its Resolution on dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all posts both inside and outside the Party. It is a great victory for the struggle personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. These two resolutions of the CCP Central Committee fully express the common desire of the ten million armymen and civilians of Shanghai. Party organizations at all levels in the municipality are required to organize the broad masses of cadres and people to conscientiously study and firmly support these two resolutions of the Party Central Committee.

(2) the Resolution of the Party Central Committee points out: "The nature of the Teng Hsiao-p'ing problem has turned into one of antagonistic contradiction." We must continue to seriously study Chairman Mao's important directives, penetratingly expose and criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary crimes, thoroughly criticize his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, firmly keep to the general orientation of struggle, and resolutely carry through to the end the great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

(3) We firmly support exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat over a handful of class enemies who created the counter-revolutionary political incident at T'ienanmen Square, and wrathfully denounce the counter-revolutionary crimes of a handful of class enemies who directed the spearhead at the great leader Chairman Mao, tried to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and openly voiced support for Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The armymen and civilians throughout the municipality must doubly raise their revolutionary vigilance, further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and smash the sabotage activities by all class enemies.

(4) Party organizations at all levels in the municipality must take class struggle as the key link, perseveringly grasp revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war; they must carry out the work in all fields with still better results, and take concrete actions to defend Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee

April 8, 1976

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Confucianists Intrigue and Conspire

by

K'ang Li (康立)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 14, 1976)

Confucianists represented by Confucius were diehards of the declining slave-owner aristocrats and had always been noted for their intrigues and conspiracies. Chairman Mao points out: "As to the diehards, they always have many schemes in hand, schemes for profiting at others' expense, for double-dealing, and so on." From Confucius, founder of the Confucian school, to Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, Confuciuses of modern China, all are without exception extremely hypocritical and ruthless conspirators.

Confucianists mounted the stage of history as a conspiratorial group. Let us first look at Confucius, otherwise known as "the sage of the times," which, interpreted in contemporary language, means the modern sage. Being a sage, and modern at that, gives us reason to believe that he was a political swindler mastering the art of intrigue and conspiracy. He said: Of those with whom we may study in common, we may not be able to take the same road and abide by the same rites; among those who can proceed along with us and abide by the same rites, some may not be allowed to share secrets and take part in crucial schemes for power. Apparently, "schemes for power," implying intrigue and conspiracy, constitute an important tactic of conducting counter-revolutionary activities for restoration. Confucius also clamored "the looper coils up in order to extend" and "lack of forbearance in small matters confounds great plans." This was an attempt to cover up counter-revolutionary reality with the tactic of concealment. Moreover, he openly advocated feeling out the direction of the wind and being quick to temporize as the occasion demanded, so that, when the situation was favorable, "both language and actions may be lofty and bold," but when the going was tough, "actions may be lofty and bold, but the language may be reserved." In other words, weigh your words according to the direction in which the wind is blowing, like a chameleon that changes its coat as the situation changes. That is why Liuhsia Chih denounced Confucius as "cunning and hypocritical," a "crafty hypocrite," exposing outright the ugly features of this tricky conspirator.

The practice of intrigue and conspiracy was determined by class attributes of the reactionary, declining class represented by the Confucianists. The reactionary political line of the Confucianists inevitably led them to form a self-seeking clique organizationally and, tactically, to resort to intrigue and conspiracy. Faced with the irresistible revolutionary tide, it was impossible for Confucius, who attempted to push the restorationist line of "self-restraint and return to propriety," to carry out a straightforward and upright political struggle. There was no alternative but to resort to intrigue and conspiracy. Confucius' doctrine on "rule by benevolence" was a homily to deceive people with "the benevolent loves others,"

in order to conceal his hideous aim of restoring the dictatorship of slave-owners. One of the Confucian classics, the "Rites of Chou," was described as "the book about conspiracy employed by the six states to destroy Ch'in." In fact, all the Confucian classics, such as the Confucian Analects, Works of Mencius, Great Learning and the Golden Mean, are all "books of conspiracy" of this kind. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are full of hypocrisy and deceit, and it goes without saying that anyone who believes in these doctrines is bound to practice intrigue and conspiracy.

However, in order to cover up their real features as conspirators and political swindlers, over the ages Confucianists have always preached, by word of mouth or in writings, that "words must be trustworthy." They talked volubly about benevolence, righteousness and virtue and did their utmost to dress themselves up as dignified-looking men of superior virtue. At the same time, as thieves crying "catch the thief," they desperately attacked the Legalists for "giving up honesty for deception." This put history completely upside down. Legalists were politically more honest. As political representatives of the newly emerging landlord class, not only did they dare to rightly and confidently demand "rule of law" through the dictatorship of the landlord class, but they also had more courage in carrying out political struggle in the open. Han Fei, for one, said that "an intelligent man should not cheat" and emphasized the need to appoint Legalists to "bring to light the secret thoughts of influential people in power," thereby exposing and criticizing the double-faced behavior of the Confucianists. Legalists also paid attention to "tact," but the actions they took were open and not clandestine. The Legalists' "tact" consists in tactical measures intended to assure the implementation of the Legalist line, and these measures were not only essentially different from the intrigues and conspiracies of the Confucianists, but were also used to detect and deal with such intrigues and conspiracies.

Of course, under different conditions of class struggle, the tactics of intrigue and conspiracy employed by the Confucianists also varied. As Chairman Mao points out, "How do counter-revolutionaries make use of double-dealing tactics? How do they deceive us with false pretences while doing secretly things we never expect? And all of this is unknown to millions upon millions of kind-hearted people." Confucianists after Confucius have through the ages, by way of worshipping Confucius and reading the classics, mastered the Confucian hypocrisy and practiced all kinds of tricks.

Confucianists are extremely good at "adopting the tactics of the Monkey who gets into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan to play the devil." The big conspirator Chao Kao was one who used such tactics to worm himself into the "heart" of the Ch'in Dynasty. Chao was a political representative of the declining slave-owner aristocrats. Under the historical conditions where the newly emerging landlord class exercised dictatorship, Chao "grieved over the destruction of his state by Ch'in and swore to take revenge." He became an eunuch in the palace of the Ch'ing Dynasty. Though he harbored deep hatred against the newly emerging landlord class, on the surface he still avidly read Legalist works, and because of his "being versed in the prison code," he became Hu Hai's teacher on "prison laws and affairs."

Nevertheless, he was unable to conceal his fox-tail and came close to being executed by the Legalist Meng I for criminal offense. Later, Ch'in Shih Huang, appreciating his eloquence and "wit at handling matters," restored his position, and for more than 20 years, he was able to lie low in the Ch'in court. What Chao believed in was the counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics of the Confucianists who thought that "a sage is always on the move and adapts himself to changing circumstances." When he colluded with Hu Hai to launch the counter-revolutionary Shach'iu coup d'etat, he said: "This is what Confucius taught, and there is nothing unfilial in what you do." In other words, he learned his conspiratorial tricks from Confucius, and what he did did not run counter to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

While Chao Kao was a counter-revolutionary double-dealer who wormed his way in from the outside, Liu Pi of the former period of Western Han was a counter-revolutionary careerist born of the landlord class. As a young man, Liu Pi took part in suppressing the revolt by the Prince of Huainan, Ying Pu, and this was something good he did. However, after princes who were not related to the royal family were crushed, he became an agent of the slave-owner restorationists. When Han Kaotsu, Liu Pang, discovered this, he sent for Liu Pi and persuaded him to take the general good to heart and "not to entertain any idea of rebellion." Right then and there, Liu Pi swore that he would never rebel. But once he turned his back, he changed his mind. His promise "not to rebel" was a tactic of "restraining oneself" to cover up the ambition of "returning to propriety." Secretly, he "kept accumulating funds, raising an army, and stocking grain days and nights on end for more than 30 years." Counter-revolutionary careerists always move a foot after gaining an inch and eat their own words. When he eventually launched the revolt, Liu Pi hoisted the banner of "slaying Ch'ao Ts'o" to clear men of evil from the emperor's side, as if he wanted not to overthrow the Western Han Dynasty with a united, centralized government, but merely to oppose one man, Ch'ao Ts'o, who advocated cutting the land of the vassals. But after Ch'ao Ts'o was killed, Liu Pi not only did not cease his rebellion, but declared even more blatantly: "I am now the Emperor of the East!" His wolfish ambition was clear. Chairman Mao points out: "Ever since the Prince of Wu, Liu Pi, of the Han Dynasty invented the well-known tactic of calling for the execution of Ch'ao Ts'o (the principal adviser of Han Emperor Ching) to clear the emperor's side of evil men, quite a number of careerists have regarded it as treasure. The Hu Feng clique, too, has inherited this mantle." The renegade and traitor Lin Piao in his attempt to usurp the supreme power of the Party and state adopted the same counter-revolutionary tactics.

If such an important tactic used by counter-revolutionary careerists to usurp power and restore the old order as "clearing evil men from the emperor's side" revealed the Confucianists' ferocious features, at times they might also appear kind and gentle, buying off people with small favors and winning fame by cheating the world. Wang Mang, for one, was an utterly hypocritical political swindler who emerged out of the atmosphere of venerating Confucianism in the twilight years of Western Han. He won praise for his affected observance of filial piety and brotherhood, and deceived others by the art of flattery. Since then, his star rose higher and higher. He was skilful in selling himself and extending small favors. He befriended

ministers and generals, wooed men of renown, and fostered a following. At the same time, he appeared condescending in front of others, pretending to be a man who disliked beautiful clothes and good food and rode on poor carriages. He even made his wife dress like a slave-maid in front of ladies of ranking ministers and princes. While he appeared as a humble man of virtue, he was in fact extremely ruthless and intolerable to dissent. After usurping the throne from the child prince Ying, he then shed crocodile tears and "held the hand of the child prince and sobbed." He was indeed one who left no fine words unsaid and no evil deed undone.

Spreading rumors, sowing seeds of discord, and framing up political charges -- this was a master trick the Confucianists resorted to in carrying out intrigues and conspiracies. When Ssuma Kuang and his like of the Sung Dynasty opposed Wang An-shih's political reform, they resorted to "all kinds of devilish intrigues and conspiracies." In the name of "pleading on behalf of the people," they conjured up a heart-breaking "picture of destitute and homeless people" in an attempt to negate the positive results of Wang An-shih's reform. They even spread the rumor that the drought was also caused by the reform, yelling, "Ask Wang to go, there will be rain." Even after Wang's death, the Taoist Shao Po-wen tossed out his notorious "On Discerning Traitors," a representative work of Confucian intrigue and conspiracy which was full of false accusations, slander, threats and insults against Wang. All this, however, did not in the least show the might of the Confucian diehards represented by Ssuma Kuang, but expressed their feebleness. It indicated that the moribund forces of the big landlords, in defending the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and opposing the reform movement, were at the end of their wits.

No schemer has ever had a good end. Lu Hsün pointed out: "Playing tricks may produce results, but they are limited, and that is why those who do so can hardly accomplish great things." This has been the case since the dawn of history. Confucius ran up against the wall everywhere and in the end lamented "my ways have been exhausted" and wanted to see the Duke of Chou in the other world. In less than 3 years after Chao Kao usurped power and restored the old order, he was swallowed by the turbulent waves of the peasant uprisings in the closing years of Ch'in. Three months after the Prince of Wu, Liu Pi, revolted, he was axed to death. The wheel of history cannot be turned back and innumerable facts show that whoever imitates Confucius in resorting to intrigue and conspiracy can only start by harming others and end up by ruining himself. This is irresistible dialectics of history.

In the period of socialist revolution in our country, the chieftains of the revisionist line, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their like, while being devotees of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, are at the same time bourgeois careerists, conspirators and double-dealers. Did not the renegade and traitor Lin Piao boast of "having high ambition and clever stratagem"? His "high ambition" was to restore capitalism. His "clever stratagem" was to intrigue and conspire. Lin Piao combed meticulously through the Four Books and Five Classics, the histories of China and other countries, and even novels and proverbs for material on ways of carrying out counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities. He lauded such rubbish as what Mencius advocated

in his time, "Great men need not be sincere in what they say or carry out what they promise to do." Lin himself shemelessly declared: "He who doesn't lie will fall." He highly treasured the counter-revolutionary tactics employed by the Prince of Wu, Liu Pi, to "clear evil men from the emperor's side," and appreciated just as highly Chu Hsi's double-faced "philosophy of handling people." He could be said to have mastered the tricks of slander and sophistry amplified in "On Discerning Traitors." He also had a set of extremely cunning counter-revolutionary "tactics of lodging oneself," such as "the stratagem of concealment," "forbearance," "keeping a smile on your face," and so on. He had indeed synthesized all the Confucian intrigues and conspiracies.

What especially merits our vigilance is that the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts also continue to follow the old Confucian tricks in carrying out intrigues and conspiracies. Though they are totally ignorant in theory, they are quite capable when it comes to scheming. Please note how many double-dealing tactics they have resorted to in pushing their revisionist line aimed at negating the great proletarian cultural revolution, rejecting new socialist things, restoring the old order and regression. When the situation is unfavorable, they outwardly admit defeat and make a self-examination, giving a "mixed show of shame and repentance with nowhere to hide their faces" and making repeated pledges "never to reverse verdicts." However, the moment the dust began to settle, they not only wrote off all those pledges, but audaciously engaged in activities of restoration and regression. Didn't they act in the same manner as Liu Pi, who reneged from his promise not to rebel? They sow seeds of discord, fan up ill winds and ghostly fires, and cook up all kinds of political rumors. Are these not the same tactics frequently used by the neo-Confucianists of the Sung Dynasty? Like Confucius, they run about issuing calls and directives and making reports in an attempt to re-enact a living drama of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." The facts of class struggle once again prove that anyone who practices revisionism to bring about restoration and regression invariably has to seek help from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and of course has to repeat the Confucian intrigues and conspiracies. It can be seen that people who resort to conspiracies exist objectively, and their existence is not something we can dictate. As far as the revolutionary people are concerned, "to deal with all such intrigues and conspiracies, there is but one way, and a highly destructive way at that -- to bring them into the open. To thoroughly expose these intrigues and conspiracies is to deprive them of all power." (Marx and Engels, "The Socialist-Democratic League and the International Working Men's Association") To study how Confucianists practice intrigues and conspiracies will help us grasp the basic characteristics of intrigues and conspiracies resorted to by reactionaries, and raise our ability to distinguish counter-revolutionary double-dealers, careerists and conspirators. "We revolutionaries must understand the way they work and study their tactics in order to vanquish them."

In the course of leading the Chinese revolution through prolonged struggles, Chairman Mao has constantly summed up the historical experience gained in struggle against counter-revolutionary double-dealers. In his

preface and notes to "Materials Concerning the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique," Chairman Mao made an incisive analysis and exposure of a whole set of counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics employed by the Hu Feng clique and called on the whole Party "to maintain a high degree of vigilance in the various functional departments and to be good at discerning those elements who pretend to support the revolution but actually oppose it." In 1964, Chairman Mao again stressed repeatedly: "Watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchev and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level." In recent years, in the course of opposing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao put forward to the whole Party the three basic principles designed to strengthen the ideological and organizational construction of the Party: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." These important instructions of Chairman Mao's are important ideological weapons with which we struggle against bourgeois careerists and conspirators. So long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and at the same time grasp the correct tactics of struggle, no matter what intrigues and conspiracies class enemies resort to, it will not be difficult to recognize them.

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